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CHINA-MONGOLIA BOUNDARY .

No dispute over boundaries exists now between Communist China and Mongolia, but a dispute could easily arise. Almost the entire length of the boundary is undemarcated, and there is considerable confusion about its exact location. Since the Communist takeover the governments of Communist China and Mongolia have maintained very friendly relations and there have been no difficulties about boundaries although minor local disputes along the border, mainly over grazing rights, have occurred. One recent unconfirmed report mentioned a pending dispute over a Chinese claim to portions of Mongolia, but details are not currently available and there have been no reports of incidents arising from this alleged claim. If relations between the two countries become less friendly, however, a serious border dispute could arise unless the boundary is demarcated or, at least, properly defined.

Very few serious attempts have been made to delineate the boundary. Most of the area is still unsurveyed and very poorly mapped -- a condition which has led to wide variations in interpreting the location of the boundary. Both China and Mongolia take noticeable cartographic liberties in their delineations of the boundary on maps and each country depicts almost the entire length in its own favor by many thousands of square miles. Although Chinese Communist maps have shown notable differences from one to another in their interpretation of the Mongolian border, they have been consistent in claiming large amounts of territory along the border. In 1941, representatives of the Japanese puppet government of Manchukuo and the Mongolian government demarcated a portion of the eastern part of the boundary near Pei-erh Hu (Lake Bayr).<sup>\*</sup> Apparently the Chinese Communists do not recognize this demarcation. They consistently show a boundary different from the one in the demarcation agreement, which is the basis for the Mongolian interpretation of the boundary in this area. Soviet maps support the Mongolian interpretation in this sector, and they also agree more closely with Mongolian maps for the remainder of the boundary.

Local incidents involving grazing rights have occurred occasionally among nomadic groups along the border, especially between the Kazakhs of Sinkiang and the Mongols along the western part of the border.<sup>\*\*</sup> The probability that incidents of this type could precipitate a border dispute has been greatly reduced by the introduction of the Communist system of regimentation, which maintains greater control over freedom of movement among the nomads on both sides of the border.

<sup>\*</sup> For details of this agreement see Appendix.

<sup>\*\*</sup> See CIA/RR GP 60-66:L, 9 June 1960, The Northeastern Border of Sinkiang.

Appendix

Excerpts from the agreement between Manchukuo\* and the Mongolian Peoples Republic in 1941 are given below:

In accordance with the agreement made between TOGO and MOLOTOV on 9 June 1940 and the agreement made between TOGO and ROZOFUSKI on 18 July 1940 and based on the minutes of the meeting of the Joint Committee for the Determination of the Boundary between Manchukuo and the Mongolian Peoples Republic held on 14 June 1941, the Manchukuo plenipotentiaries...and the plenipotentiaries of the Mongolian Peoples Republic... established the boundary between Manchukuo and the Mongolian Peoples Republic in the areas under dispute in 1939. By work on the spot in 1940 and 1941, they marked the boundary forever.

A. The national boundary lines fixed upon are as recorded in the map attached to the agreement itself and in the National Boundary Protocol. These boundaries were decided upon through negotiations held on the spot. It was further decided that the boundaries should extend vertically above and below the surface of the ground.

On land the boundary line is indicated by crosses on the national boundary marks imbedded in the ground. The boundary line passes through the center of each cross. Where the line follows rivers (mountain streams), it passes through the center of the main stream.

In the event that the river bed changes as the result of natural causes, the boundary line will not change but remain in the position and configuration established in 1935. The line cannot be changed without the mutual agreement of the Governments of both countries.

\* Manchukuo is the popular name for the Empire of Manchuria (1932-1945), which was headed by Henry Pu-yi.

B. The established national boundary extends from No I/1 main boundary mark at HOITO ERIGU on the north side of Lake Baikal to No XVII/132 main boundary mark at AMARARUTEIN ORA, a distance of 256.79 kilometers. 153.52 kilometers of which is over land and 103.27 kilometers of which is over water.

The agreement then describes the division of the boundary line into sectors and tells which country carried out the survey and check in each sector. The agreement includes other descriptions of a technical nature, mainly concerning the placement and numbering of the main and intermediate boundary markers. The boundary has a total of 16 zones and 132 markers.

The agreement includes a list of documents that were prepared as annexes to the main text. The list is given verbatim below. With the exception of Item 7 of the Map References (see p. 4), none of the maps mentioned are available in Washington.

1. Record of places through which the National Border Line passes. Two copies each in Japanese and Russian; total, four copies.
2. Folder of Maps of the Border Areas. Four copies. Contents: Index map of border area maps -- two pages per copy; maps of the border area, scale 1/25,000 - 21 pages per copy.
3. Folder of Survey Maps and Results of the Survey. Four copies. Contents: Index map of survey maps -- two pages per copy; survey maps, scale 1/25,000 -- 21 pages per copy; tables of survey results - 19 pages per copy.
4. Agreement concerning National Boundary Marks. Two copies each in Japanese and Russian; total, four copies - 132 pages per copy.
5. Detailed Description of National Boundary Marks (with attached map). Two copies each in Japanese and Russian; total, four copies.

6. Regulations Concerning Preservation of National Boundary Marks. Two copies each in Japanese and Russian; total, four copies.

In conclusion the agreement states that "the plenipotentiaries for both countries will make up two copies each in Japanese and Russian of the agreement itself, a total of four copies, and together with the foregoing appended matter, they will exchange two signed and sealed copies." The two versions were to have equal validity, and the agreement and annexes were to be ratified by both governments as soon as possible.

The agreement and the annexes were formally ratified in Harbin on 5 May 1942 through an exchange of letters between Chan Ching-hui, Premier of Manchukuo, and Choybalsan, Premier of the Mongolian Peoples Republic.

Map References

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